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## AUTO DE FÉ AND JEW.

### X.

#### THE REYES CATÓLICOS AND THE INQUISITION.

THE Inquisition, it has been remarked <sup>1</sup>, "had to deal in Spain with rich and crafty Jews and highly trained Moors. Forced to profess a Christianity which they hated, they loathed the worship of virgin or saint . . . mere idolatries . . . Between them and the Old Catholic Spaniards smouldered a perpetual grudge. . . . Jews, Moors, and Moriscoes made up 300,000 of the wealthiest inhabitants, and in seventy years the population fell from ten to six millions."

Having once started the Inquisition, Ferdinand and Isabella did not care to relax their zeal. The Chauvinistic sentiment, Spain for the Spaniards, was irresistible after the Catholic Monarchs had conquered the last of the Moors. New Christians were viewed with suspicion and envy. Were they to rob the genuine "*viejos christianos pur sang*" of the fruits of their policy and prowess? Jews and Moors alike were dangers to the compactness of the union, for Granada had been overwhelmed rather than destroyed, and might rise again. Church and State were in a spending mood, and the booty would have tempted even less extravagant tastes.

Machiavelli was right in denouncing this policy as deplorable. From the very first it failed of effect. Spain for the Spaniards meant a depopulated Spain, an impoverished Spain, a feeble and inglorious Spain. New

<sup>1</sup> *Encyclopaedia Britannica* sub voce "Inquisition."

# AVTO GENERAL

DE LA FEF.

LAVREADAS LAS TRIVNFADORAS SIENES

DE LA RELIGION CHATOLICA.

SVBIVGADA LA CERVIZ DE LA FIERA

APOSTASIA.

LENITIVA PIEDAD DE LA SIEMPRE

VERDE OLIVA.

ESTRAGO VENGATIVO DE LA SIEMPRE INVICTA  
ESPADA.

CELO APOSTOLICODELSANCTO  
TRIBVNAL DE LA INQUISICION.

Celebrado en Cordoba Lunes veinte y noete de junio dia de los Apostoles  
y Principes de la Yglesia S. Pedro, y S. Pablo.

Efervio por el mui Reverendo Padre Frey Pedro de Herrera Leñor de Prima de el Real Conuento , y  
Colegio de S. Pablo de Cordoba, Orden de Predicadores.



Con Licencia en Cordoba, por Andres Carrillo de Panizza, Año de 1661.

FACSIMILE OF THE TITLE-PAGE OF A RARE 'RELACION'  
OF AN AUTO DE FÉ.

Christians had intermarried with the oldest and greatest of the grandees. They occupied the highest offices of State and even of the Church. In two or three generations they must have been absorbed. But the Inquisition threw them back into the arms of their ancient faith, the spice of danger lent poetry and holiness to the rites and ceremonies they had for a time abandoned—

“The axe and sword new vigour give,  
And by their ruins they revive.”

The bonds of Catholicism could not trammel their minds. The spirit of the Reformation was in the air.

Jews and Moors threatened the Christian union. For fear of rebellion they were to be expelled, and first the Jews were banished. But the rebellion came. In 1524, and again from 1567 to 1570, the Moors were up in arms; the insurrections were quelled, and between 1598 and 1610 a million Moors were exiled from Spain.

Both King and Sacred Office secured much spoil through confiscations. These confiscations made the Jews poorer but they did not enrich the country. The Turks gained what the Spaniards lost. The trade of the Indies drifted into the hands of the Turks, and Bajazet was justified in following the advice of his Jewish physician<sup>1</sup> and inviting the Jews to his dominions, and jeering at Ferdinand for letting them go. America, newly discovered, and the argosies of the Spanish Main fed the Peninsula with bullion for a while, but economic ruin was bound to be the ultimate result of its system of religious persecution. *Judaismo*, *Anglicanismo*, *Mahometanismo*, *Calvinismo*, *Ateismo* are the successive “Leitmotive” of too successful voyages of discovery in the ocean of heresy. As our tables show, each crops up at intervals as the fashionable crime, but they were not self-exclusive. The Inquisitor saw nothing

<sup>1</sup> This was R. Joseph ha-Cohen, for whom a MS. in the author's possession was written in 1485 at Nicosia in Cyprus, vide *J. Q. R.*, vol. XI, p. 529.

absurd in charging Queen Elizabeth's friend, Antonio Perez, with being Anglican and Jew; or Pedro de la Concepcion (1662) with being Jew and Atheist; or in punishing numbers of Jews, in 1728, for being Mohammedans!

Ferdinand the Catholic remained a consistent persecutor to the end. He earned his canonization and did not scruple to reprove even the Pope for want of religious zeal. "Tell the Pope," he writes on March 7, 1514, to Fray Alonzo Lozano, his ambassador at Rome, "It is a thing much to be regretted that the Pope has refused to give to Inquisitors canonical preferments at a time when the Inquisition is more needed than ever<sup>1</sup>."

## XI.

### CHARLES THE FIFTH.

Ferdinand and Isabella's grandson and successor was less religiously inclined—at first. In 1516, Charles the Fifth became King of Spain, and for a time the sport of Jew-baiting seemed to have fallen into disfavour and almost desuetude. The number of autos-da-fé decreased, and in Portugal the condition of the Israelites became almost enviable. Spanish sentiment obeyed the hint which fell from the throne, and the Bishop of Badajoz had to write to Cardinal Ximenes, Inquisitor-General, "Some of the Spaniards who are in Flanders speak badly of the Inquisition, telling horrible things of it and pretending that it ruins the country<sup>2</sup>." Charles the Fifth was elected Emperor in 1519, and Adrian VI Pope in 1524. There were divided counsels at the Vatican, and Spain is urged to be more zealous. "The former Emperors," wrote the College of Cardinals to Charles, with a sarcasm which to modern ears sounds strangely Gilbertian, "did not earn their great reputation by expelling the French, conquering

<sup>1</sup> *Calendar of State Papers* (Spanish), 1509-25.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 281. The letter is dated March 8, 1516.

the English, or subjecting Italy, but by making war on the Jews, putting heretics to death, and reducing almost the whole of Africa to obedience of the Christian religion<sup>1</sup>." The Pope did not endorse this violence of attitude on the part of the Holy College. The personal influence of a Jew seems to have softened his heart, and perhaps also the wisdom of conciliating the Jews as a body appealed to his intellect. Nor was Charles V by any means inclined to play into the hands of the Inquisition. The progress of Lutheranism in Germany had not been altogether unwelcome to him. The Pope was his bitter enemy, and in his own dominions Church and State were not on the best of terms. In 1540, Covos writes to Charles from Granada and feeds his jealousy by telling him that "the Inquisition is encroaching daily on the civil power as regards death sentences<sup>2</sup>"; and, almost in the same breath, the Emperor hears of an interview with Pizarro and the martyrdom of a man at Valencia who "died there professing Judaism<sup>3</sup>."

Our lists show that the autos are still few in number. Between 1535 and 1555 we can find barely one recorded in two years. We read of a Synagogue where Jews seem to have been able to worship almost openly and the officiating Rabbi of which escaped punishment until 1562, when he figured at the Auto-da-Fé in Murcia. Pope Marcel III cannot restrain his dissatisfaction with this lukewarmness: it is of a piece with the laxity which permitted Charles V to recognize the religion of Luther at the Diet of Augsburg. And the Venetian Envoy at Rome writes to the Doge, in 1556, a very vivid account of the forcible language used by His Holiness at an official interview where the talk was of the Maranno refugees, who found what he thought were too ready welcomers at Venice and Leghorn. "The Pope," writes Navagero<sup>4</sup>, "when I, Ambassador, asked him how he was, replied: 'Troubled on account of these enemies of

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. State Papers* (Spanish), II, 609. Vide also as to Jews in England, *ibid.*, I, 51 and 164.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 241.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 295.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* (Venetian), 1556.

God. renegade-moriscos (moresci), spawn of Jews (seme di Giudei), for we have yet to learn they are Christians, but we hope in Christ that they will repent them of what they have done. We will deprive them of their kingdoms and empires, we will proclaim them excommunicated and accursed, them and those who shall have participation with them. We will make a crusade against them, because both father and son are heretics, and we will extirpate that accursed race. . . . This scum of the earth has, alas, commanded us, owing to our cowardice, ever since those wretched souls Lodovico Moro (Ludwic Sforza) and Alfonso (II of Aragon, King of Naples) placed the neck of Italy under the yoke of the barbarians, our capital enemies. You also have communication with these promise breakers who cajole you. Beware of what you are doing.'"

## XII.

### EMBASSY FROM JEWS IN INDIA.

In the sixteenth century the Jews were by no means of the small importance which is usually imagined. Jewish historians have been too prone to write annals from exclusively Jewish sources and standpoint. To Jews the expulsion from Spain seemed a calamity as terrible as the destruction of the Temple, but it is a failing with Jews to magnify disasters no less than exaggerate small successes. Like all highly strung people, Jews are at times too pessimistic and at others too optimistic. To an Abarbanel, the Decree of 1492 meant political and financial ruin; but the majority of his coreligionists either remained in Spain throughout, or returned to it after a year or two spent in Portugal or across the Straits of Gibraltar, and in Spain they practised their Judaism in secret. They were like the Russian Jews to-day who live outside the pale of Jewish settlement; they were known, they were tolerated, and they were able to square the

police, subject always to the periodic risk of being squeezed for gain. The Jewish idealist of the time hated the hollowness and moral squalor of such a life, and hence the depth of his depression. The commercial minds were less squeamish.

Now the balance of power in Europe was unstable: the dissensions in the Church and the triumphant progress of Turkey were two great factors which made for the downfall of traditional Christianity, and the Jews were not slow to seize the opportunity of attempting to regain their lost ground. Their first move came from an entirely unexpected quarter, and in a manner no less strange. The Calendar of State Papers<sup>1</sup> again furnishes us with a clue. We read in a letter of March 14, 1524, addressed from Rome by the Venetian legate, Marco Foscarelli, to the "Signory," that "An ambassador has come to the Pope from the Jews in India, offering him 300,000<sup>2</sup> combatants against the Turk, and asking for artillery."

The ambassador was the famous David Reubeni, who started on his mission in 1522, and his principals seem to have been the white Jews of Cranganore<sup>3</sup>. These had for nine centuries enjoyed independence in the principality of Anjuvannam<sup>4</sup>, under a grant from Bhaskara Ravi Varma, King of Malabar. In 1524, the year before Vasco da Gama's death, the Mohammedans with a fleet of 100 "grabs" attacked Cranganore and drove out the Jews,

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. State Papers* (Venetian), 1520-6, p. 810.

<sup>2</sup> The number is significant. Reubeni offered the Pope 300,000 subjects, not soldiers. In his ספר he says that his brother rules over thirty myriads (שלשים רבוא). Doubtless he exaggerated their number, but ten years later we read of a Jewish fleet in the Mediterranean:—"Prince Andrea with twenty-five galleys sails for Naples in search of the Jew (Cacha Diablo), who had twenty." *Cal. State Papers* (Spanish), 242.

<sup>3</sup> The writer suggested this explanation of the Reubeni puzzle in a short paper read before the Orientalist Congress at Hamburg in Sept. 1902.

<sup>4</sup> Dr. G. Oppert visited Cranganore and has published the grants inscribed on the original plates which are still preserved at Cochin. He identifies the name Anjuvannam as signifying the Fifth or Foreign Caste.



who found refuge in Cochin. Reubeni's mission it was to persuade the Pope, as Head of the East and Overlord of the Portuguese, that it was his interest to be friendly to the Jews and thus secure their help in wresting the trade of India from the Turks. The mission was apparently unsuccessful, though the Portuguese appear to have left the Cochin Jews free to practise their religion with impunity, and without interference from the Inquisition established at Goa in 1536. The Synagogue at Cochin, in Jews' Town, was erected in 1568, but destroyed by the Portuguese in 1662, because the Jews were supposed to intrigue with the Dutch enemy, who captured the city in 1664 and rebuilt the Synagogue<sup>1</sup>. After 130 years the Dutch gave way to the English, but under both Protestant powers the Jews have enjoyed complete religious liberty; Holland and England, in Asia as in Europe, gained what Spain and Portugal lost.

To return to David Reubeni, the usual form his story takes is that a man, called by that name, gave himself out to be a messenger from Prester John, suddenly appeared in Rome early in the sixteenth century, secured an extraordinary influence upon Pope, Emperor, and King of Portugal in turn and as Pseudo-Messiah, either himself or through a disciple, started one of the periodic Zionist agitations which convulse Jewry.

The disciple was a Portuguese Maranno and Royal Secretary, Diogo Pires, who, after his conversion to Judaism, called himself Solomon Molcho. It seemed too unlikely that, after the expulsion of the Jews from Spain and Portugal, anything of the sort could have happened, and so most historians—Basnage for example—regarded the whole story as a myth which had grown up out of the Messianic aspirations of an imaginative and credulous people.

Graetz<sup>2</sup> threw new light on the subject. He was unable

<sup>1</sup> Vide Rae's *Syrian Church in India*, cap. X.

<sup>2</sup> Graetz, IX, 545 and note 4.

to deny the existence of a man calling himself David Reubeni, for there was in the Bodleian Library a Manuscript, the Edition<sup>1</sup> of which occupies more than a hundred closely printed quarto pages, purporting to be the diary of his Travels from 1522-5.

The original MS. by-the-by has been missing since 1867 and the Edition was made from a copy. Graetz also knew of the references to him by Jewish contemporaries: Farisol in his *Itinera Mundi* (ארחות עולם) and R. Joseph b. Joshua Hasefardi in his *Chronicles* (עמק הבכר). He also discovered external authorities for the episode in 1528 and 1531.

Graetz was not wanting in imagination but his temperament was sceptical. David Reubeni could not be suppressed, he was an actuality and had to be accounted for, and so Graetz, largely on the internal evidence of the Hebrew style of the Diary, but also on the a priori improbability of his story, condemns him as an impostor made in Germany.

Neubauer, in 1895, goes a step further when he affirms with "certainty, that the Hebrew style of David's Diary is that of a German Jew. David might have been such, though a native of Egypt who knew Arabic as his mother tongue!" Rieger and Vogelstein in their *History of the Jews of Rome* call him an Arabian Impostor, largely on the ground that his ignorance of Abyssinia was exposed when he was confronted with a *soi-disant* envoy from the real King of Abyssinia. Anyhow, even Graetz admits that, to Reubeni's favour at court and in the Vatican, was due the then comparative immunity from persecution of the Jews of Portugal, and the delay in the establishment of the Portuguese Inquisition.

<sup>1</sup> Neubauer's *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, II, 133 and seq. The MS. is written in 1527, and at the beginning the author tells how his brother was king in מרבור קבור, whence he came to Europe via נירי and by ship via Souakim to Abyssinia and Egypt. By these names he may well mean Cranganore and Djeddah. I believe Professor Schechter found a large fragment of another MS. of Reubeni's Diary in the Cairo Geniza.

### XIII.

#### DAVID REUBENI IN PORTUGAL.

At this time though even in Spain Jew baiting was relaxed, the Portuguese Jews were allowed a degree of liberty which to foreigners seemed extraordinary. On October 10, 1528, Martin de Salina, Austrian envoy in Spain, writes to the King of Bohemia and Hungary:—"A Jew has been allowed to preach in Portugal in favour of the religion of Moses, and against our Christian faith. He has also written letters to this kingdom of Spain, in consequence of which many of his comrades desert their houses and fly to that country. The Emperor has written twice to the King on this subject, and the Inquisition is now proceeding against the guilty parties. Cannot tell how the affair will end, but fears that God will in the end chastise the king who tolerates such evils in his estates<sup>1</sup>." This may well refer to David Reubeni, who after being treated with distinction at the Portuguese court for nearly a twelvemonth, was suddenly banished from Portugal. His boat was shipwrecked on the Spanish coast and he himself imprisoned by the Inquisition. Charles the Fifth released him, and he proceeded to the Pope at Avignon. Possibly he may have taken the part of an honest broker in the negotiations between those two personages. The favour he enjoyed seems otherwise inexplicable. The Portuguese clerical party, however, was no longer to be repressed, and the agitators for the Inquisition proved too strong for King Joaõ or even for the Pope. Graetz quotes a letter from the Inquisitor of Badajoz to the King, dated March 30, 1528, which has hitherto been regarded as the earliest external authority for the whole strange Reubeni episode. He also quotes a letter of June 11, 1531, addressed to King Joaõ by Bras

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. State Papers* (Spanish), 1527-9, II, 818.

Neto from Rome, in which the envoy states in terms that the Pope's aversion to grant the Bull sanctioning the establishment of the Inquisition in Portugal, was due to his partiality for the Jewish Prince from Asia. As a matter of fact it was not till 1536 that the Inquisition was introduced into Portugal, and in 1537 we read in the Spanish State Papers that the Inquisition of Portugal is "intending to persecute the Spanish Moriscoes<sup>1</sup>," and that "the Pope will help<sup>2</sup>" to this end. Pressure was being brought to bear upon the King by the Emperor, whose envoy, Luis Sarmiento de Mendoza, writes to his Catholic Majesty, about this time, that he "spoke to the King (of Portugal) about the Inquisition, and although the answer was not so clear and resolute as could be expected, yet he declared that not one of the newly converted Moors remained in the whole of Portugal, and begged him to write home that if any of the fugitives had taken shelter in the ports of Portugal he should at once be imprisoned and punished<sup>3</sup>." Even so, it is Moriscos not Marannos, Moors and not Jews, who are the first objects of the Portuguese attack.

Professed Jews had, of course, remained in Portugal notwithstanding the expulsion of 1497, and were known as such and allowed to trade even with Spain. In the *Relaciones* of the autos their Judaism is often assumed, and they practically received a licence to reside in Lisbon, by the King's edict dated February 7, 1537, which ordered that "All Jews should wear a badge by which they might be distinguished from Christians<sup>4</sup>." As late as February, 1539, Eustace Chapuys writes from London to the Queen of Hungary, that there was as yet no Inquisition in Portugal<sup>5</sup>; our own list of Portuguese autos begins with the following year. In 1543, "certain Portuguese Jews,

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. State Papers* (Spanish), 1537, 319.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 316.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 319; S. E. Pat. B. M. Add. 28,589.

<sup>4</sup> Vide Lindo's *Jews of Spain and Portugal*, 375.

<sup>5</sup> *State Papers* (Spanish), 1539, 110.

prisoners in London, are released on the recommendation of the King and Queen of Portugal<sup>1</sup>." This seems surprising enough, but except for a doubtful auto in 1531, recorded by Zunz, and two by Gottheil in 1540, we have no record of an auto in Lisbon until 1563. After that date they become numerous until 1578, when King Sebastian was slain. For two years the times were too troubled for indulgence in the luxury of an auto, but with Philip's seizure of Portugal and its consequent eighty-five years' union with Spain, autos became numerous and regular. In 1589, Don Antonio, one of the pretenders to the throne, lodged in the Apostolic College or Theatines (Lisbon), and the Venetian legate writes that "he received many visits from Portuguese Jews and other low folk<sup>2</sup>."

## XIV.

### THE SECOND EXPULSION.

The Portuguese Jews were soon to feel the weight of the Spanish yoke. The union of the two kingdoms under Philip the Second did not make for tolerance or indifference. Philip the Second was the most Catholic of monarchs, and his zeal for the Church, encouraged rather than

<sup>1</sup> *State Papers* (Spanish), 1542-3, 270 (*Wien Imp. Arch.*, Corresp., Engl.). *J. Q. R.*, XIV, 700.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* (Venetian), 1586-9. In the same volume we read of a "Jew of a black bonnet—the scoundrel Saul Cohen." In 1599 Queen Elizabeth corresponds with Esperanza Malchi, the Sultan's secretary, and in 1591, thanks to her ambassador's intervention, the Sultan appointed a Jew, Waiwode of Wallachia (vide Ellis, *Letters illustrative of English History*, 1825, III, 52, and *Jewish World* of Jan. 2, 1885, both cited by Lucien Wolf). The *State Papers* (Venetian, 1581-91) have numerous references to David Passi (i. e. of Fez), a Spanish refugee and a diplomatist, of whom the Sultan said, "slaves like the Vizir he had in abundance, but never a one like David," and of whose temporary disgrace the Venetian legate wrote: "All Christendom has cause to be thankful for the . . . exile and probable death of the Jew."

tempered by the love of power, induced him alike to marry the unloveliest of England's queens and fight the ablest. In his time Judah was not saved, and Israel did not dwell securely.

We have particulars of many autos celebrated in his dominions, and there were doubtless many more, and it was he who established the Inquisition in America. His successor, Philip III, was hardly less fanatical. The Holy Office was not allowed to remain idle, and the number of persons imprisoned for suspected Judaism was to be counted by the thousand. The "Nation," as the Portuguese Jew Christians were called, braved the terrors of the Inquisition, and poured into Spain, thinking perhaps that the game was worth the candle, and that they would be more leniently treated now that they were fellow subjects, and not mere alien immigrants.

But even the precarious existence accorded to these Jew Christians was destined to come to an end. The immediate cause was a case of sacrilege in a Lisbon church, attributed by the ignorant mob to the Jews. The popular cry was taken up by the Church, and a powerful agitation was started, in 1620, with the object of procuring the exile of all Jews from the Peninsula. The term Jews included not only professed Jews, but all persons who or whose parents had been punished by the Inquisition for offences of Judaism or condemned "por vehementi" on suspicion of Judaism. Some of the Jews petitioned Philip III, who died in 1621, and then his son Philip IV for pardon, alleging their innocence of sacrilege, and offering a bribe of 150,000 ducats as an inducement to permit them to reside in Spain and Portugal. Philip the Fourth did not reject their petition with contumely, but appointed a Committee of *Grandeess* consisting of the Duke de Villa hermosa, the Marques de Castel Rio, the Conde de Castillo, the Bishop Designate of Malaga, Don Francisco de Bragança, and five others, to investigate the matter. Antisemitic arguments, mostly theological,

and of the antiquated type of the early Christian Fathers, prevailed in favour of their banishment, and ultimately, in 1631, the king decided that all Judaizers<sup>1</sup> were to be exiled from his realms. This, the second, banishment from Spain and Portugal was hardly less important and far-reaching than its better known predecessor of 1492. For it was this that led to the foundation of the Jewish communities of London, Altona, and Bordeaux, and brought to Amsterdam a Spinoza and a Manasseh ben Israel. The original documents relating to these events, the Jews' Petitions, the Minutes of the Royal Commission, and even the draft of the letter of thanks addressed by the Council of the Inquisition to the king for his zeal for the Church, and a copy of the king's reply, were recently picked out by the writer on the fourth floor of a tenement house in a Madrid back slum from a hidden hoard containing the archives of the Council, and they will be published hereafter.

The second banishment was not more effective than the earlier attempts to extirpate the Jewish heresy. The annals of the Inquisition show an increase in the number of victims punished for "delitos de judaismo," and its punishments are if anything still more severe. It was only in the latter half of the eighteenth century that the spirit of the revolution succeeded in scotching the venom of the religious persecutor.

<sup>1</sup> The various names by which these Jews or Jew Christians are described (sometimes by King Philip IV himself) in the original documents are as follows:—"los Judios que en Portugal an deliquido en materia de fee" (86), "hombres de la nacion" (8), "los de la nacion Hebraea" (69), "la gente de la nacion de Portugal (63), "los de la nacion de Portugal" (103), and "los hombres de negocios de Portugal" (77).

## XV.

## PORTUGUESE AUTOS.

The following is a list of the exact dates of many of the Portuguese Autos-da-fé referred to in § IX<sup>1</sup>:—

<i>Lisbon.</i>	<i>Evora.</i>	<i>Coimbra.</i>	<i>Goa, &amp;c.</i>
Sept. 20, 1540	Sept. 20, 1542		
Oct. 23, 1541	Sept. 12, 1563	Oct. 5, 1567	
May 26, 1563	Aug. 22, 1564	Aug. 1, 1568	
Mar. 9, 1567	July 24, 1569	Aug. 20, 1570	
Jan. 3, 1574	Nov. 12, 1570	Oct. 28, 1571	
May 13, 1576	Dec. 14, 1572	June 7, 1573	
April 1, 1582	Sept. 21, 1574	Sept. 12, 1574	
May 6, 1584	Nov. 14, 1574	Oct. 21, 1576	
Dec. 1, 1586	Aug. 2, 1575	Sept. 21, 1578	
Nov. 7, 1588	Dec. 10, 1581	Jan. 23, 1583	
June 17, 1590	Dec. 16, 1584	Nov. 25, 1584	
Oct. 27, 1591	Mar. 2, 1586	Nov. 9, 1586	
Feb. 13, 1594	Aug. 2, 1587	July 3, 1588	
Feb. 23, 1597	July 10, 1588	Nov. 26, 1589	
Oct. 3, 1600	Oct. 29, 1589	May 19, 1591	
Aug. 3, 1603	Mar. 31, 1591	June 27, 1593	
Aug. 3, 1604	May 31, 1592	Oct. 8, 1595	
May 22, 1605	June 14, 1594	April 12, 1598	
Nov. 19, 1606	Aug. 27, 1600	Mar. 14, 1599	
April 5, 1609	June 9, 1602	April 7, 1599	
July 31, 1611	Aug. 3, 1608	Dec. 19, 1599	
Feb. 16, 1614	Mar. 28, 1610	May 6, 1601	
Feb. 12, 1617	June 21, 1615	Sept. 15, 1602	
April 5, 1620	July 12, 1615	May 3, 1607	
Nov. 28, 1621	June 8, 1616	June 22, 1608	
May 5, 1624	Feb. 19, 1618	Mar. 28, 1610	
Mar. 14, 1627	May 19, 1619	Mar. 18, 1612	
Sept. 2, 1629	Mar. 29, 1620	Aug. 28, 1616	Feb. 7, 1617
Mar. 24, 1631	Nov. 28, 1621	Nov. 25, 1618	
Mar. 22, 1632	May 14, 1623	Mar. 21, 1619	
May 26, 1635	June 14, 1624	Mar. 29, 1620	
Aug. 3, 1636	Nov. 28, 1624	Nov. 28, 1621	
Jan. 16, 1637	Oct. 19, 1625	June 18, 1623	
Oct. 11, 1637	Nov. 29, 1626	Nov. 26, 1623	
Sept. 3, 1638	Feb. 19, 1627	May 4, 1625	
Mar. 11, 1640	June 18, 1628	May 23, 1625	
April 2, 1642	April 8, 1629	May 6, 1629	
April 6, 1642	June 30, 1630	May 7, 1634	Aug. 28, 1635
July 10, 1644	Mar. 28, 1632	June 8, 1636	Aug. 16, 1636
June 25, 1645	Oct. 23, 1633	Sept. 20, 1636	

<sup>1</sup> These additional details are given at the suggestion of Mr. Joseph Jacobs.



<i>Lisbon.</i>	<i>Evora.</i>	<i>Coimbra.</i>	<i>Goa, &amp;c.</i>
Nov. 18, 1646	Mar. 25, 1635	Sept. 9, 1640	
Dec. 15, 1647	June 27, 1636	Nov. 15, 1643	
Mar. 26, 1650	June 14, 1637	Feb. 24, 1647	Sept. 4, 1644
Dec. 1, 1652	May 2, 1638	June 10, 1650	
Oct. 11, 1654	April 10, 1639	June 31, 1650	
Oct. 29, 1656	Nov. 4, 1640	April 14, 1652	
Dec. 15, 1658	Aug. 21, 1644	Oct. 19, 1653	
Oct. 17, 1660	Feb. 28, 1649	April 8, 1655	Dec. 15, 1658 (Porto)
Oct. 18, 1660	Mar. 26, 1651	May 23, 1660	
Sept. 17, 1661	June 8, 1653	June 9, 1662	
Aug. 17, 1664	May 6, 1657	Sept. 4, 1664	
April 4, 1666	April 18, 1660	Oct. 26, 1664	
Mar. 11, 1668	Nov. 12, 1662	Feb. 13, 1667	
June 21, 1671	May 16, 1664	Dec. 27, 1667	
Dec. 10, 1673	May 31, 1665	May 26, 1669	
May 10, 1682	June 20, 1666	June 14, 1671	Mar. 27, 1672
Aug. 8, 1683	Oct. 16, 1667	Mar. 12, 1673	
Oct. 19, 1702	Sept. 21, 1670	Nov. 18, 1674	
Sept. 6, 1705	April 3, 1672	Jan. 18, 1682	
Sept. 12, 1706	Nov. 26, 1673	July 1, 1691	
June 30, 1707	Feb. 15, 1681	Oct. 17, 1694	June 15, 1694
Nov. 6, 1707	Mar. 28, 1683	Nov. 25, 1696	Oct. 17, 1694
June 30, 1709	Mar. 22, 1705	June 14, 1699	Oct. 16, 1695
June 26, 1711	July 20, 1710	Dec. 18, 1701	Mar. 18, 1700
June 9, 1713		Mar. 2, 1704	Feb. 20, 1701
Sept. 19, 1713		July 25, 1706	Sept. 4, 1701
Oct. 14, 1714	Jan. 26, 1716	Nov. 18, 1708	June 17, 1708
Oct. 24, 1717		June 21, 1711	
June 16, 1720		Aug. 6, 1713	
Oct. 10, 1723	Mar. 26, 1724	Jan. 26, 1716	
May 6, 1725	Dec. 16, 1725	May 17, 1716	
Oct. 13, 1726		July 7, 1720	June 19, 1718
July 25, 1728		Mar. 14, 1723	Nov. 14, 1723
Oct. 16, 1729		June 10, 1725	Nov. 17, 1726
July 6, 1732		June 30, 1726	
Sept. 25, 1735		May 25, 1727	
Sept. 1, 1737		May 9, 1728	
Sept. 1, 1739		May 29, 1729	Nov. 26, 1730
Oct. 18, 1739		Oct. 8, 1730	
June 18, 1741		Nov. 9, 1732	
Nov. 4, 1742		Dec. 5, 1734	
June 21, 1744		Dec. 10, 1734	
Sept. 26, 1745		June 30, 1737	
Oct. 16, 1745		Nov. 8, 1739	
Oct. 16, 1746		Oct. 20, 1762	
Sept. 24, 1747			
Oct. 20, 1748	June 20, 1756		
Sept. 20, 1761			
Dec. 18, 1767	May 31, 1767		

## XVI.

## SOME TOLEDO AUTOS.

(MOSTLY COMPILED FROM THE MADRID ARCHIVES.)

<i>Date.</i>	<i>No. of Victims.</i>	<i>No. of Jews.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
June 17, 1565 <sup>1</sup>	41	...	22 Lutherans, of whom 11 were burnt alive. A "renegado" punished may have been a Jew.
June 18, 1570 <sup>2</sup>	7	7	
Feb. 9, 1648	2		
Dec. 28, 1649	4	3	
Jan. 1, 1651	76	...	Mostly Jews, 2 burnt, 1 Jew and Juan Lays of Paris.
Nov. 30, 1651	23	...	Many Jews.
April 28, 1652	4	4	
Aug. 24, 1652	4	4	
Nov. 3, 1652	4	2	
Dec. 28, 1652	8	...	Jews.
May 11, 1653	4	...	Jews.
May 18, 1653	5	...	Jews.
Aug. 10, 1653	7	...	Jews.
Aug. 31, 1653	3	3	
Mar. 15, 1654	7	7	Jews.
Nov. 8, 1654	9		
Dec. 27, 1654	7	...	Jews.
Oct. 31, 1655	7	7	Jews.
Jan. 30, 1656	1	1	
Sept. 10, 1656	8	8	Jews.
Sept. 17, 1656	2	2	
Oct. 8, 1656	2	2	
Oct. 15, 1656	2	2	
Feb. 11, 1657	3	3	
Mar. 11, 1657	3	3	
May 6, 1657	3	3	
July 1, 1657	9	8	1 bigamy.
Sept. 16, 1657	6	6	
Dec. 9, 1657	17	17	
Aug. 24, 1658	8	7	1 bigamy.
May 9, 1659	7	...	Jews.
Sept. 7, 1659	12	...	Jews.
Jan. 11, 1660	5	...	Jews.
Mar. 19, 1660	6	...	Jews.

<sup>1</sup> MS. Relacion Adler.<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<i>Date.</i>	<i>No. of Victims.</i>	<i>No. of Jews.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
June 13, 1660	2	2	Jews.
Sept. 26, 1660	10	...	Jews.
April 4, 1661	8	...	Jews and Lutherans.
Aug. 8, 1661	16	...	Jews.
Dec. 4, 1661	6	6	
April 11, 1662	15	...	Jews.
Feb. 24, 1663	11	...	Jews.
Oct. 7, 1663	10	...	Jews.
Feb. 22, 1665	23	...	Jews.
June 15, 1666	14	...	Jews.
May 1, 1667	3	3	1 burnt in effigy.
Oct. 30, 1667	18	...	Jews.
April 7, 1669	7	...	Jews.
Nov. 17, 1669	16	...	Jews.
May 18, 1670	5	...	Jews.
Oct. 19, 1670	7	...	Jews.
Sept. 6, 1671	11	...	Jews.
Sept. 11, 1672	6	...	Jews.
Feb. 11, 1674	14	...	Mostly Jews.
Oct. 14, 1674	2	1	
Feb. 3, 1675	2	...	A Moor and a bigamist.
June 16, 1675	3		
Sept. 20, 1676	3		
Feb. 14, 1679	4	4	
Dec. 17, 1679	5	5	
Oct. 6, 1680	5	5	
Dec. 21, 1680	30	...	Many Jews.
Sept. 29, 1681	9	...	Jews.
April 25, 1683	8	...	Jews.
May 22, 1684	3	2	1 bigamist.
April 1, 1685	2	1	
Aug. 18, 1686	3	3	
Oct. 15, 1686	1	1	
Mar. 9, 1687	1		
April 13, 1687	1	1	
July 15, 1687	1		
April 22, 1689	1		
April 6, 1690	3		
Nov. 9, 1692	2	1	
Feb. 7, 1694	10	...	Jews.
June 6, 1694	3	3	
June 13, 1694	1		
May 8, 1695	3	3	2 Jews burnt in effigy.
Sept. 22, 1695	2	1	
Oct. 23, 1695	2	2	
July 29, 1696	1	1	
Sept. 16, 1696	2	2	
Mar. 17, 1697	4	...	Jews.

<i>Date.</i>	<i>No. of Victims.</i>	<i>No. of Jews.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
July 7, 1698	1		
Sept. 7, 1699	5		
Jan. 31, 1700	2		
Sept. 26, 1700	7	...	Jews.
Mar. 6, 1701	7	...	Jews.
Oct. 30, 1701	10	...	Jews.
May 21, 1702	3	3	
Oct. 18, 1702	2		
Oct. 22, 1702	1		
Nov. 12, 1702	2	2	
Mar. 18, 1703	2	2	
Dec. 16, 1703	1		
Sept. 8, 1704	3	2	1 Jew burnt.
no date	1	...	Apparently the following day.
no date	1	...	Apparently the day after, "a sollicitante" punished in secret.
no date	1		
Nov. 22, 1705	1	1	
no date	1	...	? the next day, a priest punished in secret.
June 19, 1707	1		
Sept. 8, 1707	1		
Nov. 24, 1707	1	...	Sollicitante.
July 15, 1708	2		
July 23, 1708	1		
April 9, 1709	1		
Mar. 10, 1709	1		
Oct. 19, 1709	1		
Aug. 26, 1710	1		
Sept. 1, 1711	1		
Sept. 27, 1711	6	1	
Nov. 15, 1711	1		
June 13, 1713	1		
June 23, 1713	1		
Oct. 1, 1714	2		
Oct. 22, 1714	1		
Feb. 15, 1716	1		
Aug. 29, 1717	4		
July 24, 1718	3		
Feb. 2, 1721	1		
Mar. 19, 1721	16	...	Jews.
Mar. 15, 1722	32	...	Many Jews, a Jewess, Maria de Ribera, burnt.
Oct. 25, 1722	13	12	
Feb. 24, 1723	7	7	2 Jews burnt and 2 in effigy.
Oct. 28, 1723	6	6	Diego Lopez de Castro Paz "Judai- zante impenitente" burnt.
Jan. 15, 1725	1	...	Bigamist.

<i>Date.</i>	<i>No. of Victims.</i>	<i>No. of Jews.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
July 1, 1725	8	5	1 Jew burnt.
June 11, 1726	3	2	
June 28, 1729	1		
July 12, 1730	1		
Sept. 26, 1730	1		
Dec. 22, 1730	1		
June 3, 1731	1		
July 28, 1731	1		
Sept. 7, 1733 (sic)	1		
Jan. 18, 1732	1		
July 24, 1732	1		
Aug. 14, 1732	1		
Aug. 18, 1732	1		
Aug. 22, 1734	2		
Dec. 4, 1734	1		
April 26, 1735	1		Many Jews, Luzia Gonzales burnt.
Mar. 20, 1738	12		
Dec. 21, 1738	2	1	
Nov. 5, 1742	1		
May 25, 1743	1		
July 7, 1744	1		
Sept. 18, 1722 (sic)	1		
Sept. 16, 1745	1		
Sept. 19, 1745	1		
Feb. 10, 1746	1		
July 8, 1746	1		
June 11, 1748	1		
April 16, 1749	1		
no date	1		
June 6, 1750	1		Most of these were in the sala of the tribunal "a puerta serrata," and dealt with priests and their crimes, abuse of the confessional, &c.
July 1, 1750	1		
Jan. 13, 1751	1		
July 9, 1751	1		
July 30, 1752	1		
Aug. 7, 1752	1		
Mar. 9, 1755	1		
April 26, 1755	1		
Jan. 11, 1756	2	1	
Feb. 23, 1757	1		
April 9, 1757	1		
Mar. 24, 1757	1		

<i>Date.</i>	<i>No. of Victims.</i>	<i>No. of Jews.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Sept. 25, 1758	I		
Oct. 14, 1758	I		
Oct. 21, 1758	I		
June 20, 1759	I		
Oct. 13, 1759	I		
Nov. 10, 1763	I		
Feb. 4, 1764	I		
July 8, 1765	I		
Sept. 5, 1765	I		
Oct. 13, 1759 (sic)	I		
Sept. 25, 1767	I		
Sept. 21, 1768	I		
May 31, 1769	I		
April 16, 1771	I		
Mar. 6, 1775	I		
Oct. 3, 1775	I		
July 8, 1776	I		
April 7, 1777	I		
April 8, 1777	I		
Jan. 28, 1778	I		
Mar. 7, 1778	I		
Nov. 22, 1779	I		
July 7, 1787 (sic)	I	...	Interposed in the Original.
Feb. 16, 1780	I		
Jan. 27, 1787	I		
Feb. 28, 1791	I		
Sept. 9, 1791	I		
Aug. 4, 1792	I		
Aug. 11, 1794	I		

## XVII.

## STATISTICS OF AUTOS AND THEIR VICTIMS.

The publication of a former article on this subject seems to have stimulated research, and has resulted in considerable additions to the lists of autos which may serve as annals in the history of martyrdom. Chapters VIII and XVI supply further Spanish autos and IX and XV a

tolerably complete list of those celebrated in Portugal. Chap. IX is due to the kindness of S<sup>r</sup> D<sup>na</sup> Alberto Carlos da Silva, Librarian of the Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa and corresponding Member of the American Jewish Historical Society. Over twelve hundred autos have accordingly been collected, and it becomes possible to make a statistical examination of the subject with some hope of accuracy. The Portuguese figures may be taken as approximately correct; the Spanish are much below the mark except so far as concerns the Inquisitions of Seville and Cordova. Of the 700 autos recorded as celebrated in Spain four-sevenths occurred in these cities and Toledo, whereas the Grand Inquisitor, Cardinal Ximenes, divided Spain into ten tribunals, and five others were afterwards added; the last—Granada—in 1524. Probably, therefore, there were four times as many autos in Spain as those of which details are forthcoming. The figures prior to 1540 have some of the vagueness of exaggeration: but, having regard to the 675 Spanish and 439 Portuguese autos detailed in our lists as having taken place between that date and 1790, it will not be an overestimate to reckon the actual autos during that period as being, for Spain 2,500, and Portugal, 500. Now Llorente, and many other authorities after him, estimate the total number of victims of the Inquisition in Spain as 341,000<sup>1</sup>, viz. 32,000 killed outright, 17,659 executed in effigy, and 291,000 as otherwise punished. His figures for the period prior to 1540, i. e. the régime of the first five Inquisitors General, comprise 20,226 killed outright and 10,913 in effigy; while for the régimes of the 35th and 36th Inquisitors, 1720-3 and 1723-30, he reckons two killed outright in each tribunal every year, one burnt in effigy, and twelve "penitenciados." A glance at the statistics given in the Table appended to the first article will show that this is

<sup>1</sup> The Holy Office in 1524 set up at Seville an inscription recording that in Seville alone between the years 1492 and 1524 20,000 heretics abjured, and "1,000 persons who persisted in their heresy have been delivered to the flames."

no exaggeration, so far at least as those years are concerned. The number of victims at ninety-three autos was 2,681, an average of over twenty-eight per auto. But it may be questioned whether he should assume one auto a year in each tribunal. An auto operated as a jail delivery, but there was no Habeas Corpus Act to regulate the procedure of the officials of the Holy Tribunal. When it suited their convenience they would celebrate seven autos at a single place in a single year, e.g. at Coimbra, in 1732. But, at Goa, M. Dellon complains that they waited from December, 1673, till January 12, 1676, without celebrating a single auto, and he says that the auto usually took place there only once in two or three years. Evidently the number must have varied with the number of prisoners, and it was doubtless influenced by the fluctuations of public interest in heretic-baiting.

## XVIII.

### COMPARATIVE ANNALS.

The following comparative Table groups the number of Spanish and Portuguese autos in periods of five years, and although manifestly incomplete for the reasons stated, it will be some guide to the alternating waves of persecution and tolerance in those countries. Between 1720 and 1725 a zealous publisher has preserved the "*Relacions*<sup>1</sup>" of an exceptionally large number of Spanish autos, and the increased number of recorded cases is not due to greater intolerance, for Philip, first of the House of Bourbon, ruled from 1700-59, and maintained throughout his long reign an uninterrupted dead level of inefficiency.

<sup>1</sup> Vide "IV, Printed Authorities" sub voce "Auto de Fé." The title-page to one of the rarer, and possibly unique, *Relacions* is reproduced in facsimile to face p. 413 above.



<i>Years.</i>	<i>No. of Autos in Spain.</i>	<i>No. of Autos in Portugal.</i>	<i>Events.</i>
1480-4	27		In 1480 the Inquisition is established in Castile.
1485-9	48		
1490-4	26	...	In 1492 the Jews are expelled from Spain.
1495-9	11	...	In 1497 they are expelled from Portugal.
1500-4	4		
1505-9	9	...	Massacre at Lisbon of 4,000 new Christians.
1510-4	5	...	In 1512 Ferdinand conquers Navarre.
1515-9	...	...	In 1516 Charles V becomes king.
1520-4	1	...	In 1524 Mohammedans destroy Cranganore and banish the Jews.
1525-9	5	...	David Reubeni visits the Pope.
1530-4	5		
1535-9	5	...	In 1536 the Inquisition is established in Portugal.
1540-4	1	8	
1545-9	2	2	
1550-4	3	4	In 1550 Philip marries Mary of England.
1555-9	12	1	Philip II reigns.
1560-4	14	5	Persecution of Lutherans begins in Spain.
1565-9	10	7	1567-70 Moors rebel.
1570-4	7	10	
1575-9	10	5	
1580-4	5	7	In 1580 Portugal is united to Spain.
1585-9	3	11	In 1588 Spanish Armada defeated.
1590-4	10	7	
1595-9	6	11	Between 1598 and 1610 nearly a million Moors are banished from Spain. In 1598 Philip III succeeds and reigns till 1621.
1600-4	3	8	
1605-9	1	10	
1610-4	7	9	In 1612 Franco-Spanish marriages induce Spain to propose treaty for the extradition of heretics.
1615-9	2	12	
1620-4	6	16	In 1624 Jewish community founded in Brazil, by Jews of Holland.
1625-9	9	13	
1630-4	7	12	
1635-9	2	15	
1640-4	8	15	In 1640 Portugal rebelled and John Duke of Braganza became its king.
1645-9	7	12	In 1648 Spain recognized the independence of the Netherlands.
1650-4	19	19	
1655-9	23	14	
1660-4	21	15	In 1661 Portuguese raise the siege of Cochin and persecute the Jews for helping the Dutch, but in 1661 Dutch capture it and new synagogue is built.

<i>Years.</i>	<i>No. of Autos in Spain.</i>	<i>No. of Autos in Portugal.</i>	<i>Events.</i>
1665-9	15	11	In 1665 the Portuguese defeat the Spanish at Villa Viciosa.
1670-4	8	13	In 1675 English subjects were removed from Surinam to Jamaica, but the Dutch detained "the Hebrew nation" because "they were too numerous and important," and their departure would be an immediate destruction to the place <sup>1</sup> .
1675-9	13	4	
1680-4	12	19	In 1700 Philip V of the House of Bourbon became King of Spain.
1685-9	14	16	
1690-4	23	13	
1695-9	18	17	
1700-4	24	15	
1705-9	15	16	
1710-4	8	9	
1715-9	12	16	
1720-4	70	16	
1725-9	36	14	
1730-4	9	22	In 1758 the Jesuits were expelled from Portugal by Joseph I. In 1759 Charles III succeeds and a revival of trade occurs in Spain.
1735-9	11	8	
1740-4	9	5	
1745-9	11	9	
1750-4	8	5	
1755-9	14	10	
1760-4	2	7	
1765-9	6	4	
1770-4	1		
1775-9	8		
1780-4	5		In 1788 Charles IV became King of Spain.
1785-9	1	...	
1790-4	4		
1795-9	3		In 1808 Ferdinand VII became King of Spain.
1800-4			
1805-9	1	...	
1810-4			
1815-9	2		
1820-6	1		
	708	497	

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. State Papers (Colonial), America and W. Indies, 1675-6, p. 258 et passim.* As to Jamaica vide *ibid.*, 1689-92.

Llorente, and most of the encyclopædists and historians who have followed him, assume that the average number of victims gradually diminished after the beginning of the seventeenth century, and that in the eighteenth torture was abandoned, and the deaths dropped to two or three or even less in the year. The above statistics suffice to refute this as being an amiable hypothesis not founded on fact.

## XIX.

### TWO JEWISH DOCUMENTS.

By way of contrast, two Jewish documents of widely different date may be here quoted, as bearing upon our subject. The one is an excerpt from a Jewish history of 1553, being the "Chronicles of R. Joseph b. Joshua b. Meir, the Sphardi," who says of the Marannos:—"And also unto them that changed their glory for an unprofitable one, in the days of the priest Fra Vincenzo Sadi this Isabella was a Satan in those days. And she set searchers and spies over them to see if they walked in the law of their messiah or not. And they burned by hundreds of them for no cause, and all that they had they plundered daily. And thus they began to flee, and to go into Turkey to serve the Lord our God as at this day . . . .

"In Portugal also the destructions (baptisms) increased daily. . . . And Jews took their sons and their daughters, and sent them unto the isles of the sea wherein no one dwelled. . . . And many Jews went out from Portugal, and went unto the east country to serve the Lord our God as at the first: and they have dwelled there until this day. And many were left there halting between two opinions; they feared the Lord, yet sware by the image of the uncircumcised and went daily unto their churches. And they have increased and become mighty in riches until this day. And from that day and afterward there was not a man left

in all the kingdoms of Sphard who was called by the name of Israel. But the king of Navarre did not expel them from his country, and many of the Jews of Arragon went thither to dwell. And the king of Arragon allowed them to pass, and they came in ships unto Provence, and dwelled in Avignon<sup>1</sup>."

The second quotation is the copy of a London appeal of 1902, pointing to the inauguration of a brighter epoch for Jews in Portugal.

"Four hundred years have elapsed since the last Jews were driven out of Spain and Portugal. From time to time attempts have been made to gain a foothold there, and especially in Portugal. In the course of the nineteenth century a small Jewish community collected in Lisbon, but they were merely tolerated. Divine service was held in two rooms hardly fitted for such a purpose. The desire to build a Synagogue was growing all the while, but every effort to be recognized as a Community by the authorities had proved ineffectual. A plot of ground was purchased for the purpose of a Synagogue, but could not be registered in the name of the congregation. About a year ago, however, the Lisbon Jews, some of whom are descendants of old families who had once been forced to emigrate, were at last able to obtain the necessary sanction, and on May 25, 1902, the foundation stone was laid of the first Jewish Synagogue in that very place whence fanaticism had driven the Jews away.

"As an historical event of no mean importance, and as an instance of poetic justice, this resettlement must appeal in the first instance to all those who are of Spanish or Portuguese origin, and to them primarily the Lisbon Jews address an invitation to contribute towards the consummation of this building. The local community has contributed liberally to the expenses of the new Synagogue, but there is a deficit of about £2,000 with which they are unable to cope. It is hoped that the balance required

<sup>1</sup> Bialboblotzky's Translation, London, 1835, I, 324 and seqq.

will come from sympathizers outside Portugal, for it is confidently anticipated that this appeal will find many and willing supporters, and that many, even of those who are not Sephardim by origin, will be anxious to join in this rare and exceedingly gratifying event, and to build again a house of worship to the God of Israel, who has led the Jews, after many years of tribulation, back to the country where Jewish art and science had flourished for upwards of one thousand years, and where the most glorious page of Jewish history has been written."

ELKAN N. ADLER.